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ABSTRACT

Organizational socialization concerns the manner in which an individual learns the role of his or her career in the dominant setting in which the work occurs. From the functionalist approach, the role of teacher carries predetermined work attitudes, status, behaviors, and norms into which a beginning teacher is passively socialized. The cooperating teacher often begins the socialization process by means of powerful influence on the student teacher. Other influences come from peers, the teacher subculture, and the bureaucratic structure of the school. In looking at the process of socialization from the dialectical perspective, the nature of the process implies that selectivity and choice are key elements. In this perspective, the socialization setting has no meaning for the teacher beyond what he or she attributes to it through interaction with others. A third framework considers the many roles a teacher has. Individual differences in teachers' backgrounds that react to the organizational setting provide a means for survival and success within the setting. (JD)

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TEACHER CAREERS: DECODING THE ORGANIZATION

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Paper presented at the Annual Meeting
of the American Educational Research
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Teacher Careers: Decoding the Organization

Introduction

This essay grows out of a dissatisfaction with current beliefs about the form and content of organizational socialization, particularly socialization among elementary school teachers. A study of socialization of individuals in a given career includes several layers of analysis, such as the four interdisciplinary spheres of social influence described by Bronfenbrenner (1976): the micro-system, meso-system, exo-system and macro-system. It includes both structural variables (concepts pertinent to the nature and organization of professions and to the social structures of the formal organization which processes individuals) and situational variables (social situations which are a function of, or set up by, the larger structural variables) addressed by Bucher and Stelling (1977).

Organizational socialization concerns the manner in which an individual learns the role of his or her work career in the dominant setting in which the process occurs. Characteristics of the setting, and how an individual decodes them, are considered crucial to the eventual outcomes of the socialization process. Understanding of this analysis is enriched by the dramatic metaphor of actors on a stage with parts, props, co-actors, and audiences to whom one must direct the performance. Until the actor can interpret the role and construct guidelines for its performance, the acting will be incomplete, inauthentic, and detached from other parts performed simultaneously. The dramatic inter-

pretation includes the meaning of the plot, significance of the cast of characters, backdrop, and the fit of one's own role in the sequence of acts (Van Maanen, 1977; Messinger, Sampson, and Towne, 1962).

Most research in the field of teacher socialization is based on a functionalist point of view. It narrows in on the beginning teacher as a passive body awaiting processing. It implies that careers make people rather than that people make careers. Such a view cannot account for the wide variation in teacher responses to the socialization factors identified by this approach. A dialectical orientation focuses on individuals interacting with the organization. According to this view, meaning in the organization results from an active interpretive process of defining situationally-contingent variables (Schutz, 1964; Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Substantive evidence for the authenticity of a dialectical framework in representing a version of reality has been provided for medical occupations (Olesen and Whittaker, 1968; Becker et al., 1961; Bucher and Stelling, 1977). In education, Hargreaves (1967), Jackson (1968), Smith and Geoffrey (1968), Rist (1973), Lacey (1977), and Woods (1979) have attempted to readjust the existing priority of structure over process.

While the world is infinitely more complex than any one framework can capture, a useful lens for teacher socialization must organize existing knowledge in a way that generates questions and models to fit the questions being asked. It must be able to provide authentic representation of the multiple variables inherent

in a teacher's individual biography as they affect the specific problem under study, while simultaneously presenting an image of the teacher in the organization as she maneuvers with a guiding theme through time and space, selecting behavioral strategies.

The purpose of this paper is to consider an orientation to teacher socialization which makes problematic the assumptions and practices of the occupation. The argument will proceed in four major sections. First, research using the functionalist lens of teacher socialization will be examined. It will be argued that this is a limited notion of socialization which removes from scrutiny the categories, rituals and ceremonies of occupational life. Second, the dialectical lens will be explored, which focuses on individuals interacting with the organization. Third, a four-pronged interdisciplinary framework will be presented which views work in contingent relationship with numerous aspects of a teacher's life. It will be argued that the interplay between the individual and the organization generates meaning for the present situation, while antecedents of this meaning are moored in a rich historic past. Lastly, exploration of one aspect of the four-pronged interdisciplinary framework will demonstrate the usefulness of its particular way of organizing the multiple foci of teacher socialization in generating models which fit specific problems.

Functionalist Lens

Functionalism refers to a set of underlying assumptions about the social world and its elements which guide a researcher in defining the scope or boundary of his or her inquiry. Talcott Parson, the

father of Functional Theory in American sociology, defines schooling as "how the school class functions to internalize in its pupils both the commitments and capacities for successful performance of their future adult roles" (Parson, 1959, p.297). School is seen as a purposeful action system in which individuals take action towards goals (Smith, 1972). The role of teacher is purposeful for the school's goal of cognitive achievement, for instance. According to the functionalist lens, the role of teacher carries predetermined work attitudes, status, behaviors, and norms into which a new teacher is passively socialized. Lortie (1975, p.61) suggests that this socialization "is something that happens to people as they move through a series of structured experiences and internalize the sub-culture of the group."

In the functionalist mode of inquiry into teacher socialization, Lortie (1973) posits four alternative emphases to explain key processes in the phenomenon. These are: 1) early childhood; 2) peer influence; 3) persons with evaluative power; and 4) pupils as socializing agents.

Two variant conceptualizations of the influences of early childhood are presented by Lortie (1966) and Wright and Tuska (1968), the latter researchers preferring the psychoanalytic view in which a teaching career is an expression of early yearnings and fantasies. Lortie argues that teaching models are internalized in the early years to form a personal latent culture which is later activated during professional socialization. An individual's private disposition constitutes the key element in teacher career socialization. Both of the above conceptualizations of the influences of early

childhood maintain that the most significant influence to teacher socialization occurs years before the advent of formal organizational affiliation.

Peer influence as a key process in teacher socialization has little support in the literature. However, in medical careers, a strong peer group is a significant factor in the becoming process (Becker et al., 1961; Bucher and Stelling, 1977; Olesen and Whitaker, 1968). Structural bases within the training program usually support the development of a strong cohort peer group. In teacher careers, the accessibility of peers for interaction is limited. Minimal peer influence has been observed in the form of emotional support (Friebus, 1977; Karmos and Jacko, 1977) and feedback on progress toward mastery of the career role (Iannaccone and Button, 1964).

A third emphasis in the socialization process, persons with evaluative power are generally recognized as the cooperating teacher and the college or university supervisor. The key position of the cooperating teacher remains unchallenged (Zevin, 1974; Schueler et al., 1962; Price, 1961; and McAulay, 1960), while the role of the university supervisor in the socialization of teachers is considered almost ineffectual (Morris, 1974; Schueler et al., 1962; Sandgren and Schmidt, 1956). Student teachers have been observed to internalize the attitudes and behaviors of their cooperating teachers (Seperson and Joyce, 1973; Roberts and Blankenship, 1970; Yee, 1969; Iannaccone, 1963; Scott and Brinkley, 1960).

McAulay (1960) suggests that the influence of the cooperating teacher carries over into the first organizational setting of the beginning teacher. Eisenstein (1972) hypothesizes that the values

of the school as a ponderous bureaucratic organization are transmitted through the cooperating teacher to the student teacher. The latter passively internalizes the value system of the workplace. One model of teacher socialization stresses the internalization of values held by sanctioning colleagues (Edgar and Warren, 1969). Moving away from the functionalist notion of the teacher as a passively internalizing body, Dunham (1958) found that teachers' attitudes and behaviors shift toward those of the cooperating teacher while working directly in the classroom, but change to approximate those of the university supervisor while on campus. This shift in perspective is consistent with Olesen and Whittaker's (1968) observation that student nurses often will approximate the attitudes and behaviors of the role expected by their supervisors while privately maintaining an intact and unchanged system of attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors.

In his comparative study of student teachers across nations, Anderson (1974) stresses the significance of staff in the university, regardless of their evaluative power. The student teachers of this study tended to develop comparable attitudes to those of the staff, some of whom had radical orientations. In testing for a possible differential observer effect of cooperating teachers and university supervisors on the verbal behaviors of student teachers, McIntyre and Vickery (1980) found no significant difference. Only Bennie (1964) found the university supervisor to be slightly more useful than the cooperating teacher to a group of 171 beginning teachers.

Teacher-student relationship is Lortie's (1973) fourth emphasis in the teacher socialization process. He suggests that the psychic

rewards of teaching students eventually shape the teacher's behavior. Fuller and Bown (1975) emphasize, however, that pupils are non-volunteering participants in the teaching organization and as such may not often extend those psychic rewards which are thought to move trainees into the role of teacher. In any case, the emphasis is on an unidimensional view of roles as static rather than negotiable and reciprocal.

The above four key factors in the process of teacher career socialization comprise elements of the historic past and the present. They are the focus of the functionalist lens as a theoretical framework. Zeichner (1980) found three more key emphases in the literature on teacher socialization from a functionalist perspective. Temporally, they are influences located in the present. These are: 1) lateral roles and the socializing influence of nonprofessional agents; 2) ecology of the classroom; and 3) teacher subculture and the bureaucratic structure of the schools.

Lateral roles and the influence of nonprofessionals in the socialization process of teachers is an unexplored area. Principal lateral roles--other than professional work roles occupied by trainees--are the roles of husband, father, wife, and mother. Glesen and Whittaker (1968) present evidence that lateral roles for nursing students, while not directly concerned with the formal socialization process, create conflicts of time and interest. Bucher and Stelling (1977) noted that medical residents lessen their involvement with work and peers during transitions in major lateral roles, such as courtship and marriage. The influence of nonprofessionals such as friends and parents are positive sources of emotional support to student teachers (Karmos and Jacko, 1977), but spouses

and dating partners have been found to interfere with the formal socialization process by presenting conflictual demands (Friebus, 1977).

The emphasis of classroom ecology refers to the structural characteristics of the immediate environment or micro-system (Bronfenbrenner, 1976), and the contextual variables which influence and shape teacher and student interactions (Jackson, 1968; Doyle, 1977; Dreeban, 1973; 1970; Lortie, 1975; Sharp and Green, 1975). The classroom presents a network of interconnected processes (Doyle and Ponder, 1975), a texture of behavior which the teacher must decipher. Sarason (1971) points to the loneliness of the classroom and the lack of relationship in which questions and problems can be asked without fear of evaluation. In his exploration of the phenomenology of teacher stresses in the workplace, Sarason moved away from the functionalist framework to a perspective of social interaction.

The ecological system of the classroom has been named as a shaping force in the relationship between student teachers and co-operating teachers (Copeland, 1980). For example, whether or not a new teacher will use a specific skill in the classroom is dependent on the familiarity of the students in the classroom system with that skill (Copeland, 1978). In her view of the beginning teacher, Glassberg (1980) suggests that variations in stages of development of the teacher during the socialization process explain differential ways of responding to classroom ecology.

The last key emphasis in teacher socialization seen through the functionalist lens is the influence of a teacher subculture and the bureaucratic structure of the schools. Occupational cultures grow

through the protracted interaction and communication among members of the group, but teachers' contacts with colleagues are peripheral and restricted. Etzioni (1969, p.28) states that "such conditions are neither likely to produce a culture marked by rich, specific, and detailed technical terms and procedures nor calculated to develop norms which operationalize values." Referring to the "incomplete subculture," he concludes that teachers, for the most part, learn their roles in isolation from other adults. Medical occupations appear to incorporate significant subcultures through the socialization process (Olesen and Whittaker, 1968; Merton et al., 1952; Becker et al., 1961). One view maintains that the student progresses in incremental stages, gradually acquiring the skills, values, and attitudes associated with the physician's role through informal contacts with peers and faculty in a subculture (Merton et al., 1952). On the other hand, Becker et al., (1961) conclude that lines between faculty and students are sharply drawn and that students are socialized to a student role rather than a professional one. Socialization occurs primarily in contest with authority as part of a bureaucratic structure rather than in a subculture. Brim (1966) considers both power relationships and the affective relationships of any hypothesized subculture which bind individuals together as the force behind adult socialization. Among members of the Coast Guard Academy, Dornbush (1955) observed a "union of sympathy" among recruits which served as a buffer against the extreme suppression and regimentation accompanying their training.

Lortie (1968) refers to a "shared ordeal" which provides the organizational newcomer with a set of colleagues. This view of the

organizational socialization process describes entry to the sub-culture as an initiation rite designed to test the newcomers's capacity (Lortie, 1968):

Those who endured and passed the tests imposed by the elders changed subjectively--the gap they had felt between themselves and adults narrowed appreciably. Candidates who shared the trial with others changed more than those who went it alone; sharing added to the impact of the experience.

Van Gennep (1960) expanded the "rites of passage" concept. It has become a common analogy in explaining the socialization of student teachers (Polansky and Nelson, 1980; Salzillo and Van Fleet, 1977; Willower, 1969; Iannaccone and Button, 1964).

Dialectical Lens

In the dialectical perspective, the nature of the process of occupational socialization implies that selectivity and choice are key elements. These are the means by which teachers resist and redirect formal socialization efforts. For example, Lacey (1977) described several instances of student teachers maneuvering around formal social structural limitations. Cusick (1973) examined social interaction in a high school and found that the contacts teachers have with students tends to divest them of instructional authority, which traditional perspectives would define as inherent in the situation of schools. Haller (1967) suggested a similar process of negotiation and reciprocity between students and teachers in determining social linguistic patterns in classrooms. Teachers tend to move in the direction of students' expression rather than students accepting adult speech patterns. The dialectical framework views the meaning

of being a teacher as having existential qualities which involves a negotiation of status and responsibilities in specific social contexts.

Unlike the physical world, the social world may be comprised of multiple realities. A teacher chooses from these a particular reality to organize, guide, and justify his or her actions in the workplace (Schutz, 1962). Thus social meaning is created. Ascriptions of social meaning are necessary before objects, actions, and events can be said to exist at all (Schutz, 1970; Iccheiser, 1949; and Husserl, 1913). The reality chosen to make sense out of actions and events is dependent on the individual's socio-temporal location and is influenced by variables such as past experiences, reference groups, roles, expectations for the future, etc. The dialectical framework limits the study of teacher socialization to emphasis on the events of symbolic interaction.

A new teacher must locate him or herself within organizational boundaries (Van Maanen, 1973; 1976). In defining boundary locations and interpreting his role within the organization, the teacher must interpret, refine, and sustain everyday reality through interaction with others. The notion of symbolic interaction is the single theoretical position in Olesen and Whittaker's (1968) study of the socialization of student nurses. Central to the philosophical belief behind this orientation to teacher socialization is the maxim that symbolic interaction with others provides the basis for decoding reality, particularly organizational reality; objects and events in the workplace have no meaning in and of themselves.

In constructing definitions of objects, actions, and events that are useful for day-to-day functioning, beginning teachers may view the organization as problematic. This also may hold true for organizational members in mid-career and late career stages (Salaman and Thompson, 1973; Silverman, 1971; Albrow, 1968; and Bittner, 1965). Commonsense or personal explanations are sought to interpret daily situations in the workplace. Matters concerning self, relationships with others, competence, demeanor, time, role expectations, etc., are all problematic. The beginning teacher's initial agenda of concerns, among others, may include clarifying the limits of her authority and responsibility, deciphering the meanings of standards and regulations set for teachers, and discovering where she stands in the opinions of others (Adams et al., 1980). The new organizational situation at entry will involve change, or objective differences from the old situation; contrast, a person-specific perception in which certain features of the organization stand out above others; and surprise, the difference between an individual's anticipations and subsequent experiences in the new setting (Louis, 1980). How an individual makes sense of the new situation will inform his or her meaning and influence the selection of behavioral responses. The dialectical lens maintains that these new interpretations are associated with participation in the given social world and are the result of interaction with others in the work setting.

With the metaphor of actors on a stage, Lyman and Scott (1970) use the phenomenon of "stagefright" to describe how an individual's newly claimed identity becomes vulnerable to public scrutiny. A new teacher may experience apprehension regarding his or her competence to perform on the unfamiliar stage, and therefore may be

particularly susceptible to acting clues from others in the setting. Interaction with others may provide coaching for behavior and contribute to the teacher's conceptual framework for constructing plausible explanations and justifications for actions and events. These explanations or perceptions are not intact and readily provided within the objective characteristics of the organization. Neither are they part of a pervasive social force acting upon the passive teacher, as the functionalist view maintains. The dialectical perspective holds that the socialization setting has no meaning for the teacher beyond what he or she attributes to it through interaction with others in the environment.

Interdisciplinary Lens

Multiple realities are available for teachers' personal use. Choosing one reality above others is a complex event, dependent on an individual teacher's past experiences (e.g., learning style, cognitive orientation, early childhood influences) and anticipated future (a mental plan for the unfolding of tomorrow). A weighted present results. An individual in any organization confronts the available possibilities of the present, not as an unformed entity awaiting processing or socialization--a restatement of the functionalist framework--but as a fully formed human being who is capable of manipulation, conformity, originality, and growth, and who uses a set of personal symbols, definitions, constructs, and perspectives or weights in the interactions which help decode the present. This third framework combines the factors identified by the functionalists with the theory of interaction which is the basis of the dialectical perspective. The framework considers the many roles a

teacher plays and the individual differences of biography at work in the concrete organizational setting. This third approach to teacher socialization provides a framework for organizing the results of interaction of a teacher and his or her workplace into four broad categories: 1) social theme; 2) social time; 3) social space; and 4) choice of operating strategies.

Social theme is the guiding force in the teacher's career. It acts as a career anchor, reflecting the major motive or need underlying the career, such as security, mission, or challenge. Social themes are individual creations, but repetitive patterns may be identified among teachers (Lortie, 1975). Exploration of teachers' social themes may stimulate data collection on teachers' level of commitment to the organization, motivation for hierarchical rewards in the organization, the influence of past work experiences, or the meaning of the job in the teacher's present life.

Consider, for example, one aspect of sense-making in a teacher career. A new teacher in an organization may encounter unexpected difficulties with disruptive students, tedious repetitive bookkeeping tasks, or an unfriendly and critical administrator. Five years later he or she may be playing another role in the organization designing programs to implement educational research. If, as a new teacher, he has reason to expect that in the future he will be acting in another role in the organization, his present job will hold an entirely different meaning than if he expects to remain at the same job forever. If upwardly mobile, he may see early teaching as good preparation or as a learning experience. If the future is viewed as static and immobile, the teacher may interpret the exact same job

as stressful, or tedious, or unrewarding. Similarly, after he has begun designing programs to implement educational research, the past teaching job may have different meaning (e.g., starting at the bottom) than if he had not moved to another role in the organization (e.g., stuck in the bureaucratic hole of teaching). This example illustrates both social theme and social time.

Social time refers to the teacher's perceived clock for the career unfolding. Ultimately, career variables must be viewed in terms of an individual's lifespan. While teacher socialization is concerned primarily with pre-career and early career phases of teacher careers, a view of the whole cycle from pre- and early through mid- and late career may promote understanding of the unfolding and cyclical nature of the socialization process. Alterations in the career, e.g., moving from one school or school system to another, or even from one career to another, are understood in the context of the processes which promote such alterations.

In the larger setting of human socialization, the work career, at least in temporal terms, is rivalled only by the family "as the major determinant and locus of behavior" (Moore, 1979; p. 861). Personal development, interests, and crises in the total life situation are intricately related to an individual's interpretation of work role and career. Because personal, family, and occupational concerns are not mutually exclusive, the shaping of a teacher's response to the workplace is a holistic phenomenon. An exploration of social time may encourage data collection on the changing nature of the individual teacher's relationship to the workplace over time.

▲ Social space consists of the teacher developing a mental map for maneuvering in the organization. He or she must classify the setting, others, self, and events in order to determine the space to

be occupied within the workplace. This process entails decoding the physical space of the immediate environment and also developing a sense of position within the concentric social units in which this decoding must operate. That is, a teacher must not only learn where the bathroom is, but also develop insight about the role of teacher in the larger society.

Exploration of the concept of social space may generate data collection on teachers' relationship with the physical isolation of the classroom, control of others through organization of classroom space, perception of status boundaries, hierarchy and rank, and perception of "distance" to be covered in the curriculum within a specified period of time.

Social strategy consists of a coordinated set of action/idea systems that account for differential responses among teachers. Strategies explain how teachers can resist and redirect formal socialization efforts and control the socialization process within the constraints of the organization.

The perceptual framework which views symbolic interaction as a process of meaning-assignment and situation-defining is linked to action. Action assumes the meaning assigned to it and is seen as a series of strategies, adaptations and accommodations (Woods, 1979). Woods observes that "pupils and teachers are continually adjusting, reckoning, evaluating, bargaining, acting and changing."

Broad categories of strategies have been identified in the literature on socialization. Lacey (1977) grouped the differential responses of teachers to the demands of the work environment into three identifiable types: 1) strategic compliance; 2) internalized adjustment; and 3) strategic redefinition. In strategic compliance the teacher outwardly complies with the perceived constraints of the

school or school system, but he or she retains private reservations. This strategy is a source of organizational instability. In internalized adjustment the teacher complies and believes it for the best. This strategy leads to value commitment. In strategic redefinition, the teacher tries to change the range of behavior within the school or the school system. If he or she fails, he may leave the school, the system or the profession. If successful, he will have created a new range of acceptable behavior.

As part of the framework for organizing the results of teachers' interactions with the workplace, the concept of social strategy generates several researchable questions, such as how teachers consider particular behaviors before rejecting or integrating them into their system of ideas/actions; how they bargain and negotiate with supervisors; and how they learn the range of acceptable behaviors within the school and school system.

Way of Seeing, Way of Asking

The functionalist and the dialectical approaches to teacher socialization each build upon opposing theoretical foundations. The functionalist vision of man is of a static creature, shaped by "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune"--or by other socializing factors. He is passive in the activity of environmental shaping and molding. This view prompted the stubborn assumption $B=f(P,E)$, which maintains that behavior is a function of the person and the environment. The dialectical vision of man is of an actor who creates his own script during impromptu rehearsals with other actors. This view has prompted a new idea: $E=f(B,P)$. This idea, that the environment is a function of behavior and the person, is gaining credibility in social science research.

The consequence of this shuffling of concepts is a new orientation to man and his environment and a new way of seeing. One result of expanding the conception of or rearranging this subject matter is that the contingent assumptions of the old framework become problematic. The questions which one asked before no longer ring true and the traditional methods of answering those questions break down. Take the form of four separate research questions, for example.

1. Is Z going on in setting X?
2. Is variable Z important in accounting for variation of Y variable in X setting?
3. What is going on in X setting?
4. How does Z exert its effect on Y in X setting?

The first two questions are generated by a traditional way of seeing. They are questions of "whether," suggesting hypotheses. The latter two questions are "what" and "how" inquiries and are generated by a different way of seeing. In each instance, a researcher must believe certain things in order to ask the question. As the functionalist way of seeing gives way to a more dialectical approach, the established tradition which poses the question "whether" gives way to an orientation which seeks to know what and how.

The interdisciplinary framework presented in this paper proposes that the factors identified in the functionalist view of teacher socialization be linked to interactionist theory. The new framework organizes into four categories of theme, space, time, and strategy the symbolic boundaries of career socialization. It is believed that this new framework may facilitate problem identification, question asking and model building. To illustrate this, consider one of the named boundaries of career socialization: strategy.

The concept of strategy presents its own unique frame for describing an aspect of the process of teacher socialization. The word itself implies action, choice, consequence, creativity, and complexity. If we use the concept as one of the boundaries of socialization among elementary school teachers, a host of questions are generated. What is a strategy as used by a teacher? What does it look like? What is its function? These questions reflect the action element in the word.

Woods (1979) found that teachers develop heuristic strategies for dealing with the fast-moving complexity of the classroom and the constraints of the school system. He links the notion of strategy with survival and describes them as forms of accommodation, referring to "the solving or riding of problems thrown up by the organization so as effectively to neutralize the threat to the actor's continuance in it" (Woods, 1979, p.144).

Ultimately, survival can be accomplished by leaving the position, changing the culture of the school, or adapting. The latter means to survival necessitates accommodating stress-inducing problems. Woods maintains that in school situations where problems are numerous and intense, such as in the inner city, accommodation will prevail over teaching, and in easier situations, teaching will prevail over accommodations. In effect, he is saying that many teachers do not teach. Teachers have said this before. Instead, they problem solve and look for ways to reduce stress. Woods observed that survival strategies not only do not necessarily facilitate teaching, but often take the place of it and assume its guise.

Hirst (1971) wrote:

If therefore a teacher spends the whole afternoon in activity the concern of which is not that the pupil should learn...he cannot have been teaching at all. In these terms, it could be the case that quite a large number of professional teachers are in fact frauds most of their lives because their intentions are never clear...they may be lost in a welter of secondary intentions.

So far it appears that survival strategies are specific to certain kinds of schools, that they do not necessarily facilitate teaching, but often mask other events. Teaching and survival strategies may resemble each other but have nothing in common but appearance.

Woods' (1979) model for analysis of teacher behavior attempts to link the self with the system. At a systems level there is institutional momentum and societal development. At the individual level there is commitment, which is bound up with institutional momentum, and the value of the clientele--the students--which is bound up with societal developments. Accommodation is a product of the confrontation of these two factors. When confrontation is intense, teachers will relieve stress by means of survival strategies. Now we have a function for strategy. But we still don't have a clear picture of the concept in action. What do survival strategies look like? Woods' observed strategies include:

- 1) Socialization. This is a type of accommodation seen as a anticipatory maneuver. It attempts to fashion the student so that other contingencies will not arise.

- 2) Domination. This includes corporal punishment, verbal aggression, humiliation, physical superiority, and mortification techniques. It is an accumulatory process.

- 3) Negotiation. This includes appeals, apologies, cajolery, flattery, promises, bribes, exchanges and threats. The principle of

this strategy is exchange.

4) Fraternization. This strategy is to work for good relations with the student, mellowing inherent conflict, increasing students' sense of obligation, and reducing their desire to cause trouble. It is a strategy favored by young teachers.

5) Absence or removal. This method of ensuring survival is to absent oneself from the scene of potential conflict. It may be achieved by upward mobility or never starting.

6) Ritual and routine. This imposes a structure on school life which students and teachers automatically come to accept. It serves as a basis for establishing control.

7) Occupational therapy. This includes bodily involvement accompanied by dulling of the senses, passing the time. Its aim is to take the edge off boredom or fractiousness in order to prevent potential incidents.

8) Morale-boosting. This is a retrospective strategy which helps to account for other survival strategies. It mentally neutralizes the survival problem by rhetoric and laughter.

Sarason (1971) adds organizationally condoned strategies to this list, for example, segregation of problem children as a prepotent response of teachers to their professional and personal dilemmas. Now we have categories of strategies. But how does a teacher choose one strategy over another, and what happens when certain behaviors are selected over others? This question addresses the consequences of strategies.

Survival strategies can be a mask for a situation in which no teaching or learning occurs, we found. Does this mean that stra-

tegies constrain against personal and intellectual growth? This would create a dull identity to days, the present and future blending together and becoming very similar. Is this what contemporary public schooling looks like? Does the use of strategies create a situation in which teaching and learning are routine and predictable? Could it be that strategies first learned as responses to an immediate situation become an end in themselves, radically changing the nature of the educational experience for everyone?

How are strategies learned and in response to what situations are they learned? Strategies are not artifacts lying about ready for picking. Are they developed by individual teachers, passed on by others in the workplace, or taught by someone? Ryan's (1979) review of studies which attempt to identify the concerns of beginning teachers outlines problems based almost entirely in the ecological system of the classroom: disciplining, motivating, teaching, and evaluating pupils, along with establishing relationships with parents. Adams et al. (1980) found that student teachers and first year teachers consistently express more concern over pupils in relation to self than do third or fifth year teachers. Waller (1970, p. 290) views the teacher-pupil relationship as a special unstable form of dominance and subordination. He calls it "the weightiest social relationship" of the new teacher. It is the relationship around which personal dispositions will be organized. Could it be, then, that students play a significant role in helping teachers to develop survival strategies?

Over the years, teachers develop an arsenal of techniques and maneuvers with which to subjugate and pacify children. Restrictive

techniques are learned early in teachers' experience. The teacher who rejects the techniques may thought to be an idealist or a non-conformist. Kimball and McClellan (1962) observe that "one need not be consciously committed to a social system in order to behave as if to support it." Does this mean that teachers may engage in strategic behaviors which are antithetical to any theories they may maintain on teaching and learning?

Are teachers alone in their use of survival strategies? Are they the only actors in the school environment who have difficulty with survival? Rosenfeld (1976) found that children develop strategies in school, defensive maneuvers against the efforts of teachers to change them. They experience school as irrelevant, while teachers tell them that education is the only road out of the ghetto. They survive in the school through guile and manipulation, silent and overt rebellion. The most important lesson they learn is that they will be evaluated for their worth on a behavioral basis. Teachers learn that they will be evaluated for their worth on a behavioral basis also. It appears that teachers' and students' strategies may share a commonality. Do administrators in school environments have strategies too? It appears that the concept of strategy is inclusive and far reaching as an analytic tool in the exploration of socialization issues.

The concept of strategy, like the concept of social theme, space, and time, when used as the boundaries which organize the material of teacher socialization, can take the researcher deep into the core of the experience. Exploration of the concept of strategy

even in as random a fashion as the above, not only identifies problems and generates questions, but produces certain kinds of inquiry. The questions couched in the paragraphs above seek information primarily on process as the substantive problem. The theoretical framework behind symbolic interaction logically suggests notions such as social strategy (and theme, time, and space) along with others which may yet be identified. In turn, these concepts impose an organizational structure on the multiple foci of teacher socialization. A way of seeing, when logically construed, becomes a way of asking.

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